

[197] vocabulary, so much so that my Petats servant, a man of rather over the average of local intelligence, was unable at first to understand it, and carried on his converse with the Kurtatchi people in pidgin-English. He picked it up, however, in the course of a short time. This dialect is spoken also in the villages of Baniu and Timputs, farther along the coast of Bougainville to the east, and in one hamlet of Tabut, the next village on the west. The other hamlets of Tabut, the villages between Tabut and Buka Passage, and the village of Ruri, about four miles from Kurtatchi on its eastern side, speak dialects much more closely resembling those of the east coast of Buka, particularly that of the Hanahan district. The Hanahan dialect seems to be at least partially intelligible to many, if not most, of the people of the North Bougainville coast, and is used by the Roman Catholic Mission for their services.

The small amount of linguistic evidence available as regards the dialect spoken in the Kunua mountain district suggests that it belongs to a separate group altogether. Mr. Ray thinks that it may be regarded as Papuan. It is completely unintelligible to the coast natives, as are the coastal dialects to the Kunua people.

[648] Failure to comprehend each other's speech has probably always been an important factor in the attitude of hostility, now subsided into thinly veiled suspicion, which is traditional between the coast dwellers and the people of the central mountains, who, when investigated, will, I feel sure, prove to differ in many important cultural respects from the people described in the present volume, although they associate with them in certain matters, notably in the boys' puberty ceremonies.

[197] With this exception, the linguistic differences are not sufficient
[62] to prove a bar to inter-communication between the various villages, though a closer connexion is maintained between villages speaking similar dialects. The custom of taking wives from outside the home village links them together, especially as a married couple
[582] will frequently reside now in one, now in the other, of their
[591] respective homes, and the children will be sent to stay for long
[604] periods in the household of their mother's brother. Communication between villages is also established by means of meetings for
[438] barter, which is carried on even where relations are not otherwise especially friendly.

484 Considering the difficulty of travel, which must all be done either
621 on foot or by canoe, the natives range over quite a large area. For

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MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

583 the young wife of Wasē, aged perhaps ten (Pl. 7b), was thus living
 595 in Wasē's hut at the time of my residence.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

585 No further ceremony takes place until the girl has 'grown big'.
 Some people wait until she has menstruated for the first time
 before they hold the feast at which she is given to her husband,
 sometimes it is held before she has menstruated, in which case the
 husband does not wait for this to happen before consummating
 the marriage.

585 When the time for this feast is getting near, all the women *kōma*
 285 (dance and yell, see p. 414). At first they *kōma* without feasting
 for several nights. They prepare baskets to hold the food to be

[385] used in the ceremony. These are made of a kind of rattan cane
 dyed red (*riri*). The coastal people are obliged to buy this red cane

• [438] from the people of the mountains, who alone know the secret of
 the dye. The baskets are trimmed with *beroan* round the edges,
 and trade beads are hung over them. Before they had any trade
 beads they used dogs' teeth for this purpose. The baskets are also
 trimmed with all sorts of aromatic plants and leaves. The boy's
 mother makes one basket, the girl's mother makes another. The
 general name for these baskets is *seban*; the special name for baskets
 made by the people of the Nakarib clan is *kuwir* or *kuwirtsun*, for
 those of the Naboin clan *popalat*. When the baskets are finished,
 all the women come with them and hang them up on the branch
 of a tree, then the women take bows and arrows, paddles, axes, &c.,
 and jump about (*sani*) waving them, and the slit-gong is beaten.

585 When the time for the feast is close at hand, the basket made by
 the boy's mother is taken down and put in her hut. The girl's
 people come and fetch it, bringing in exchange the basket made by
 the girl's mother. This is a sign that the girl's mother has enough
 pigs and other food for the marriage ceremony. They take back
 the basket made by the boy's mother, which remains for a while
 at the house of the girl's mother, and the women of the girl's village
 go through the same performance with the bows and arrows
 and paddles.

[417] Meanwhile, the people of the boy's village have been making
 a platform (*tiinan*) out of split areca-palm trunks. The men make
 it in the bush, and leave it on the road close to the village. The
 women of the village go, singing, and ornament it with flowers and

881 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their cover-
313 ings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be
required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by
313 the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with
621 renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split
leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the
occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing
in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the
834 *watawut* takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for
688 any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have
sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives,
a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened
that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the
watawut to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets
comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman
became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As
soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that
village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front
of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been
found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the
Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next
day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately,
and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to
obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the break-
ing of the taboo.

881 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of
292 the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawut*. These are elaborately
824 ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win*
386 leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed
438 with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the moun-
tain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed.
When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I
was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the
Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This
I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret
of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast
people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no
idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

ADOLESCENT BOYS

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2s. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm */// /// /// ... /*. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tobar*.

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[435]

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DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

293 276

be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco. Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium almond. [249] 439

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua district, but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is generally not more than 3 or 4 inches. [184] 438 [53]

CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck. I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

THE FOOD QUEST

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but other ingredients must be added just before the ceremony takes place. 244
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Into the mixture in the *kōbū* Pinari scraped a small quantity of the red powder called *oin*, which was handed to him in two halves of coco-nut shells. Then, with an air of mysterious dignity which clearly indicated that the action was one of great importance, he produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a very small piece of stone, which looked like some volcanic substance containing sulphur. He scraped a very little of this into the mixture, which, he said, already contained some of it, and then carefully folded the remainder into his loin-cloth again. This stone is called Mumariria. [823] 244
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778
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The large stone from which the fragment was taken is at Soamets, a place about twenty miles down the coast to the east. [The stone lies on the edge of a little river where the mangroves grow. It belongs to the Nakarib clan, some members of which are in especially close association with it. One of these was a Soamets woman, now dead, called Mariria. If Pinari's sister's daughter, Rus, should bear a girl child, she will be called Mariria, and will inherit the special association with the stone from her namesake. If a man belonging to any other clan goes near it, the stone 'fights him' and he dies. If men from another village want to buy some of the stone to make 'medicine' for their own taro, Pinari sells them a piece off the back of the stone, which is no good, and will not make the taro grow. But when he wants it for himself he takes it from the front of the stone, then it is very powerful medicine.]

After adding the Mumariria, Pinari called for water, which was brought in coco-nut shells. The contents of three of these were emptied into the mixture, which Pinari then stirred round with his hand. 244
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Meanwhile the other men had been cutting small pieces of wood, each about 4 inches long, carefully measured against one another so that they should be of the same length. There were two kinds of wood, *kunis* and *tario*. The essential thing is that both these are hard wood, and so will cause the taro stalks to grow strong. If sticks of soft wood were used the taro stalks would be rotten and would stink. One piece of each kind was tied up in a bundle with two leaves of *horowin*, one leaf from a variety whose leaves are all green, the other from a kind whose leaves are green on the upper side and red underneath. The stalks of these leaves were 244
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501 this form of craft is known, *mon*. Like the dug-out, it appears not to be indigenous. The first place in this region to make such canoes seems, if the native accounts are to be trusted, to have been the Lontis coast, on the north-west of Buka, since the Petats people and the inhabitants of the villages on the coast of Bougainville all say that they learnt the art of making them from the men of Lontis.

501 In certain portions of this latter area the natives still remain ignorant of it. The people of Tiop, an island just round the north-east corner of Bougainville, told me that they had no *mon* and did not know how to make them, and I was given to understand that the people farther down the east coast had none either, though I had no opportunity of verifying this statement personally. Friederici (1912, p. 303) saw them at Teperoi, near Numanuma, still farther down the east coast. At the other corner of the north coast of Bougainville the people of the Saposa islands certainly do not make them, and they account for their ignorance by saying that Morena, who taught them all their crafts (see p. 39), did not teach them how to make *mon*, saying that when they wanted any they could buy them from Lontis or Hanahan, and must pay for them with spears and ceremonial currency. The people of Kurtatchi and the

[177] neighbouring villages were unanimous in saying that such boats were not made by them until after the introduction of white men's tools, which are largely employed in their manufacture. The [412] Petats people, however, say that their fathers used to make *mon* with stone tools, and to use a sharply pointed shell for boring the necessary holes by means of which the planks are fixed together.

501 Friederici (1912, p. 292) derives the Buka *mon*, on the evidence of similarity of technical construction, from the *orembai* of the 177 Moluccas. He gives a comparative list of terms for the different 174 portions of its complex structure which, he says, is sufficient to prove with absolute certainty that the *mon*, with its name, came from the east and north coasts of Buka by way of Nissan, Anir, and Tanga to South New Mecklenburg (the present New Ireland) (pp. 290 ff.).

396 *Material and tools.* C. M. Woodford, in his account of the canoes of the British Solomon Islands (1922, p. 508), pertinently remarks: 'It is difficult to understand how the natives were able, before they became acquainted with iron tools, to adze down the canoe planks to the requisite degree of thinness and shape them with the aid only of stone implements.' But he cites the evidence of the early

USEFUL ARTS

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372 dropped some excrement on to the coco-nut shell, and it flared up;
 773 this was the first fire.

It will be noticed that neither of these versions account for the process of making fire by rubbing. But the second story, which I heard at Tiop, tells how a man and his wife, while drying their taro in the sun, saw two branches which were being rubbed together by the wind. They tried it for themselves, and first smoke came from the sticks and then flame. Then they brought wood and made a big fire and cooked their bananas on it. At first the other men were afraid, but presently they came and asked where the two had found this thing. They said they had found it in the bush. Then they showed all the people how to make fire and how to keep it alight.

WOMEN'S WORK

Pottery

323 There is only one place in Buka and North Bougainville where
 184 pottery is made.¹ This is the group of six small hamlets, three on the cliff and three on the shore below, which make up the village of Malasang, on the east coast of Buka towards its southern end, about six miles from the entrance to Buka Passage.

462 All the women of Malasang know how to make pots; they teach the craft to their daughters and to the wives of their sons. A novice
 323 starts by making small pots, increasing the size of her products as
 438 she grows more skilful. Only a few of the women can make the very largest pots. There seems to be no standard of skill except as regards size. I did not hear of any woman noted for making especially fine or well-shaped ones. They are made in large numbers, far in excess of domestic requirements, since there is a market for them over the whole of Buka and North Bougainville.

Materials.

317 There are two ingredients in the mixture from which the pots
 323 are made. The bulk of it consists of a greenish clay called *petako*. It is quite plentiful in the bush, and is uncovered by the pigs in their search for water. The other ingredient is called *mēmia*, and

¹ Pottery is also made on the east coast of Bougainville, near Kieta, where the technique is similar, but the shape slightly different, and at Buin on the extreme southern end of the island; the manufacture of the latter I have not seen (Pl. 61a, no. 4).

- 323 not often in demand. A very small pot is called *kolo* (Pl. 61a, no. 2).
 415 The other shape is elliptical, with a lip at each end for pouring. It is called *kepa* (Pl. 61a, no. 3). Its main use is for boiling the squeezed oil of grated coco-nuts to be added to pounded taro in the manufacture of ceremonial pudding (see p. 274) by the men.

Barter of pots.

- 428 Natives from all over Buka and the north-western end of Bougainville make trips to Malasang to trade for pots, and the Malasang people also bring them, sometimes, in canoes to other villages for barter. Their subsequent exchange for other goods carries them still farther afield. A medium-sized pot can be bought for three sticks of tobacco (the equivalent of one shilling) or an equal value in paint, cloth, &c. A large pot is worth four or five sticks, a very small one may be had for two. They are packed up very skillfully in the areca-palm fibre carriers (*kobū*), and are taken to their destination on the backs of the women, piled so high that it seems almost impossible for them to arrive intact, yet they do (Pl. 61b).
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 201 Pots are broken ceremonially by their owners as a sign of anger or grief. The pots of a dead woman used to be broken by the mourners, but this custom is dying out.
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 323 I have not discovered any use that is made of potsherds. They lie about in large quantities in every village and on the sites of deserted villages. They are not broken up fine to serve as grit in the making of new pots, as is done by some primitive people.
 323 The most careful inquiries failed to elicit any legends or traditions connected with the origin of pottery-making, the first potter, or the discovery of the clay. All they could tell me was that the craft had been practised for so long that nobody knew how it started. It is exceedingly flourishing at the present day, and there seems no likelihood of its dying out, or even being modified by the introduction of European tools, for some considerable time to come.
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TERMS USED IN POTTERY-MAKING

(Malasang Dialect)

323 Materials and tools.

192 Term

Explanation

pétaho

a greenish clay, obtained just below the surface soil in the bush.

mémia

substance said to resemble reddish sand, obtained from a hole in the side of a mountain some distance inland.

USEFUL ARTS

294 402 occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

294 In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, 386 alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *rivo* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

294 When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. [412] Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread [283] is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on 824 the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

294 The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62a). Some women are very 531 skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

184 The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and 436 trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the 438

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

USEFUL ARTS

403 184

people of North Bougainville, who never make them. They are paid for in pots or taro or other goods, to the value of about 3s. of our money for a plain hood and 5s. or 6s. for an ornamented one. 435 438

Sleeping Mats

Sleeping mats (*pópolat* in the Petats dialect) are made in exactly the same manner as the hoods, except that they are left as a flat piece, composed of two layers of leaves. They are generally used for lying upon, but sometimes also as a covering on cold nights. I did not see any of these in use in the villages of Bougainville; there the people sleep on bare planks without mats or covering of any sort either above or below them, except for their loin cloths, which they ordinarily retain at night. 285 513 [184]

Baskets

A basket made of grass is used by the women when they go fishing for tiny fish in the rock pools on the reef at low tide, or collecting shell-fish. They are usually made in pairs, one slightly smaller than the other. The women tie the larger one round their waists, to serve as a storing-place for the catch. The smaller one they hold with one hand in front of holes, between stones, or at other possible hiding-places, and with the other hand they shepherd into it, in a most skilful manner, the fish that come out. I did not see these made, so am unable to describe the process. 285 226 227

At Petats another kind of basket is made for this purpose, and is used also in fishing with the *pilu* (see p. 356). It is circular in shape, very stiff, with an open mesh, and is made of the outside rind of the stem of a plant, trimmed with a black-lip oyster shell into long strips about one-fifth of an inch wide. Both ends of two pieces of these are fixed, one end generally being tucked into the folds of the loin-cloth, the other being held between the toes. The two strips are thus held taut, parallel to each other, their length being that required for the basket. Two pieces are then threaded through, one under both these two straight strips, the other over both. These second strips are then crossed over each other, their ends being left free. Two more are threaded in the same way below them, and every alternate cross-over is tied with a bit of rind. The width of the basket is added to by placing parallel strips on either side of the original two; the free ends of the cross-over pieces are then threaded in the same way over and under 285 [227]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

AESTHETIC ARTS NAME OF

407

the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). 549
Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for 824
themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages 184
or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were 438
three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who
commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to
finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos,
the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according
to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is re- 422
stricted to persons who are *tsunaun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a 565
fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of 435
paio (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan*
(shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint).
The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did
not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the 549
spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell
implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades
hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the
narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-
spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be
done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instru-
ment in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be
finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker,
together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could
not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the
instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to
work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking.
If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three
weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their
knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it [462]
being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured 534
about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made
at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one
at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was
more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being
handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in
fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of
being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

AESTHETIC ARTS

416
535 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's
852 wheel formation.

535 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the
184 form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One
represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one
in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut.
Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the
kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi
women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than
the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

386 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and
302 on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use
are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance.
There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring
matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil
before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a
mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 *Red*. Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special
317 names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),¹
438 formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the
vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the bright-
est colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It
is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland
of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior.
The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries
to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter.
Owan, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with
some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone
nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but
the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate
in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itfu*,
and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the
natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from
the Chinese stores.

[431]
386 Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro*
[824] (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

¹ For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

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describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tsina*) consists of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *amv*.

White (*ivi* or *wivi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tsina*, must be obtained by barter from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66a). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tsina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared as for making *wivi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton

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301 of the clam-shell for the disk, the present-day native prefers to use the middle of a china saucer ground smooth at the edges. These ornaments seem to have come under the special displeasure of the missionaries, probably owing to their connexion with ceremonies and fighting, and it is almost certain that their manufacture will shortly cease altogether. Several specimens in my collection were obtained because the owners had discarded them as belonging to the olden times.

[436] Strings of ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroon*, Pl. 67, 2a, 2b) are worn as ornaments at dances, being wound round the neck or waist or hurig over the shoulder. Anything worn across the shoulders is referred to as *sawiro*, if put round the waist the word is *wōs*.

[189] Girdles of aromatic leaves are much liked, and may have a magical value as well as being ornamental. As a result of contact with white men, belts are coming into great favour, though they are quite unnecessary for keeping the loin-cloth in position. Some of the young men have trade belts, those who have none use strips of dried banana fibre. Occasionally a belt will be seen of coloured plaited grass in a pattern similar to those on the arm-bands; these are made, like the arm-bands, by the mountain natives; they are obtained by barter and are much prized. They are also sometimes made of thin strips of cane closely bound with native string. The outside is plastered with red paint put on very thickly, and looks not unlike leather.

301 184 The women of West Buka and the adjacent islets make belts of twisted fibre, round in section, ornamented with interwoven black bands made of the shiny outer bark of the bush banana. They are finished off with a long bunch of loose threads of fibre, which hangs down behind like a tail when the belts are worn. Their use is confined to dances, and the women take pleasure in moving their bodies so that the tails wave about. Only women and children wear these belts. My friends at Petats made one specially for me, and were much pleased when I subsequently appeared in it to join in their dances. The women of Kurtatchi do not make them, and appeared to be unfamiliar with them; they were greatly interested when I showed them mine, and insisted on my putting it on and showing how the Petats women danced with it. But they made no attempt to copy it.

000 The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

Woven designs.

- 301 The woven arm-bands are obtained from the people of the
 531 mountains, and are not made locally. The meaning of most of the
 [438] designs could not be ascertained. That figured in Pl. 67, no. 5,
 which somewhat resembles a Greek key pattern, was said to repre-
 sent a man, but no explanation was forthcoming.

765 A number of different patterns are incorporated in the mourning
 531 belt.

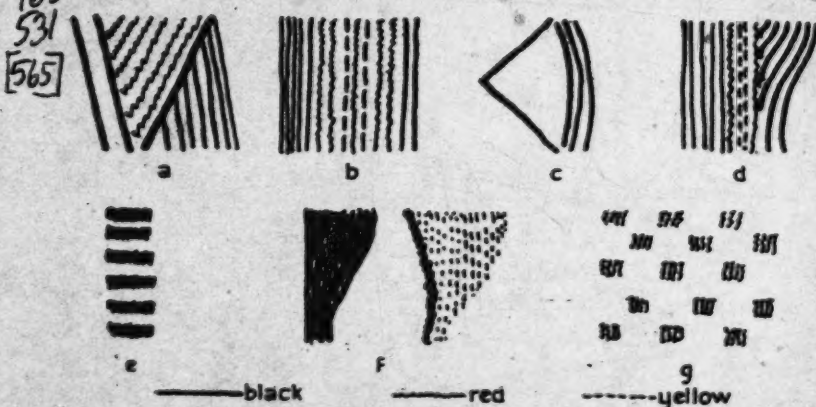


FIG. 28. Patterns on mourning belt.

belt woven by the women on the occasion of the death of a person of rank (Pl. 75, no. 1). These are all traditional, and were explained as follows (the letters refer to Fig. 28): (a) *pekpeko*, name of pattern; (b) *taparo*, name of pattern; (c) *wuwus*, a little fish found on the reef at low tide; (d) *bas*, the iguana; (e) *wirz*, a small sea-urchin plentiful on the reef; (f) *katsian*, croton leaves; (g) *owan a tō*, fruit of the sago palm.

Patterns on pottery.

- 323 The only patterns used on the Buka pottery are the simple nicks
 531 and lines, made with the crinkled edge of a shell, or with the
 [422] finger-nails, round the edges of the pots (Pl. 61a). At Malasang,
 where the pots are made, I was told that these marks, besides being
 put on for ornament, also served as a sign of ownership. But I
 noticed that the potter put the same pattern on several consecutive
 pots, so no monopoly of pattern could be claimed by the several
 owners.

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Designs of shafts of spears and arrows.

The designs of arrow shafts are similar to those found in the other islands of the Solomon group, which have been discussed by H. Balfour (1893, p. 102).

Spears covered with an elaborately woven layer of grass coloured red and yellow in various patterns are carried on ceremonial occasions, but they are not made locally, being obtained from Kunua and other mountain people by barter. The patterns are similar to those on the woven arm-bands.

DRAWINGS

With the exception of a few young men who had experimented with paper and pencil during their time as plantation labourers, the nearest approach to drawing practised by these natives is to make marks in the sand or mud with a stick. I have seen a man demonstrate in this way the proper lay-out of a coco-nut plantation. Children sometimes use their toes.

I provided drawing-paper and coloured pencils, which most people had to be taught how to hold. After a certain amount of shyness, the idea caught on, especially among the young men, and there was a run on my drawing materials until they gave out. Some of their efforts are reproduced in Figs. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 29. Sometimes the attempt resulted in unintelligible scribbles, which, although the work of adults, generally women, resemble a baby's first efforts to handle a pencil.

They appeared to have no difficulty in comprehending pictures, including those involving the recognition of objects in perspective. One man even introduced perspective into his own drawing, explaining that the woman in his picture was smaller because she was behind the others. Every one was much interested in some pictures I had with me, particularly photographs of primitive people in other parts of the world. They could interpret a photographic negative, even to the extent of recognizing themselves and their friends in it. They understood without explanation the plan I made of the village, and could tell me from it who lived in each house.

FIGURE CARVING

Reference has already been made to the representations of the human form made for marriage and puberty ceremonies. These

XII

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

IN this chapter I shall endeavour to bring together what information I could obtain concerning material possessions, their acquisition, ownership, and inheritance.

BARTER

A well-organized and to some extent standardized system of barter takes place regularly between various villages. The word used for such an organized exchange of commodities is *toan* in the Petats dialect and *tog* in the Kurtatchi dialect. The most important arrangement of this kind is the exchange of fish and taro between coastal and inland villages. Few villages are so fortunate in their geographical situation as to be self-contained as regards both these essentials to existence. The land near the coast is not very good for growing taro; the inland peoples have only the small amount of fish they can take from the rivers. There are, therefore, at short intervals, prearranged meetings of the women of one village with the women of another for the exchange of these commodities at fixed rates. Certain villages trade regularly with certain others, but their operations may also, on occasion, extend farther afield. 437
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The people of Petats are well situated in respect of facilities for fishing, but they have little ground suitable for growing taro. The exchange from this village is therefore with the villages of the hill districts of central Buka, where taro grows well. The meeting-place is either on the coast of Buka or on the Government road running through the centre of the island, at some spot about halfway between the two places, so that the distance is not excessive for either party. The trips are made several times a week, except in very unfavourable weather, sometimes on consecutive days if fish are plentiful. For example, parties went from Petats on Oct. 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 23. They start before dawn, especially when a canoe journey of some length is involved, because there is generally less wind than later in the day. Sometimes one or two men will accompany the party to help with the paddling, but they take no part in the bartering. It is the duty of the husband, or 462

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437 failing him, brother, son, or other male relative, to provide fish
 for exchange. Sometimes a man would apologize for not selling
 ● 438 me some fish for which I had asked him, on the ground that his
 wife would not have enough for the *loan* next day. A supply is
 [251] sometimes prepared in advance by half-smoking the fish so that
 they will keep for a short time. Each woman's load is her personal
 [422] property, and the goods for which she exchanges it are also her
 property, for the use of her own household. There is no pooling.
 If they are short of fish they will sometimes supplement it with
 sticks of tobacco.

437 I accompanied my friends from Petats on several trips to the
 mainland of Buka for this purpose. When the two parties met,
 packs were undone and a rapid inspection of fish and counting out
 of taro took place. The people of each party kept together; they
 went round holding out the goods they had to offer, and the buyers
 saw to it that the fish were of the appropriate size for the number
 of taro offered in exchange. I saw one woman try hard to obtain
 two small fish for four taro, but eventually she had to be content
 with one. Sometimes they would get very excited and snatch the
 fish and taro from each other, or two women would grab the same
 article, almost tearing it in pieces. Two of the Buka women
 brought loads of dried opossum, and these also were exchanged for
 [571] fish. The whole affair was got over as quickly as possible; there
 was very little gossip, and it was clearly regarded as a business, not
 a social occasion. Both sides began their homeward journey as
 soon as the exchange was finished, not stopping to chat or to chew
 betel, though we usually sat down to do so as soon as we were well
 [609] out of sight. Even now, there is a certain amount of distrust
 between the people of the coast and the people of the hills, though
 relations are outwardly friendly.

437 The fish-taro exchange is a permanent feature in the life of all
 the villages in this area. In the case of exchanges between distant
 438 villages, appointments are made from one meeting to the next by
 [211] exchanging bits of string in each of which a knot has been tied for
 each day which is to elapse before the next excursion. Some
 specified individual is in charge of the string, and cuts off one knot
 each day till the time arrives. On the occasions on which I accom-
 panied the party, we seldom waited for more than a short time
 before the other people arrived. Once, when they were rather
 longer in coming, some of the women wanted to go farther along

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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Kurtatchi

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the road to meet them, instead of waiting where we were, but this was vetoed by the older women as not being the proper thing to do. 441 437 438 ●

There is no ceremonial attached to these journeys, but there are 'medicines' which may be used to ensure getting good bargains. A typical one from Kurtatchi runs as follows: Before setting out with a load, chew the root of the plant *wakalau* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture and spit on the taro, then the other people will like it and will buy plenty and pay much fish for it. 437 789 824

This exchange is carried on regularly between the following places in the area with which this book is chiefly concerned: 435

Fish from Petats and other islands off the west coast of Buka exchanged for taro from the hill villages of the centre of the island, especially Gagan, Potaki and Sapani. Meeting place: an agreed spot on the Government road running through the centre of the island. Rates: 1 large fish for 12 taros, 1 medium-sized fish for 6 taros. 437 438

Fish from the Saposa islands, off the north-western corner of Bougainville, for taro from the Hahon people of the northern foothills, who come down to the coast at an agreed spot, opposite the Saposa islands. Also from the Kunua people farther inland and to the western side of Bougainville, who come down to the coast at a place called Kavetch, some miles down the western coast. Since this involves a journey of some distance for the Saposa people it is made at longer intervals. Saposa also exchanges its fish for the taro of the Selō people and those of Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville, who have good ground in the north-western peninsula. Meeting-place: the southern shore of the peninsula, on Soraken Bay. Rates: With the mountain people, 10 fish for 10 taros. With the Selō people, 2 fish for 6 taros. These rates are said to have been fixed for them by Morena, the 'culture heroine' from whom they trace their origin as explained in Chapter II. That was the only explanation given when I inquired as to the reason for the difference in the exchange between the two places. It is possible that the fear with which the mountain people of Central Bougainville are still regarded by the coastal people may have something to do with the favourable rates accorded to them. [773]

Saposa also figured in an exchange in the reverse direction, giving taro to Kurtatchi in exchange for smoked fish on several occasions when Kurtatchi needed extra taro for some special

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

435 reason. They met at Tarongen, on the south coast of the north-
437 western peninsula. Rates: 1 *rabas* (unit of 6 taros, in the Kurtatchi
438 dialect) for a big fish or 2 small ones.

437 A variation of this system occurs on Buka, whereby the women
438 from the village desiring taro *gō* and dig it up from the gardens of
the people of Sumoun, the hill district of the southern portion of
Buka. The Petats people call this arrangement *sosoat*, and regard
it as distinct from the *toan*, where the taro is brought to meet them.
In this case also fish are given in exchange. Unfortunately I have
no details as to whether the rates differ in the two methods.

A great many other commodities are bartered in similar fashion,
at intervals according to the requirements of the villages concerned.
I append a list of the principal exchanges which came under my
personal observation during my residence.

(i) *Women's hoods for pots.*

The Petats women are considered experts at making the hoods
worn by the women in the presence of certain male relatives (see
Chap. II, p. 73). On fine days, when the leaves dry well, almost
the whole female population of the village is engaged in making a
supply of these, which they keep in reserve. They are exchanged
for pots with the people of Malasang, the only potters in the district,
at the rate of 1 large hood for 1 large pot, or 1 small hood for 1
small pot.

(ii) *Taro and pots for lime.*

The people of the hill district of Buka cannot make lime because
they have no beach from which to collect the coral. They give the
Petats people taro and pots (the latter previously obtained from
Malasang) in exchange for it. I have no note of the rates.

(iii) *Pots for taro stalks to plant.*

435 When the Kurtatchi people need especially fine taro stalks for
437 planting a new garden, they trade with the Baniu people, whose
ground is held to be better suited for the growing of good taro. On
438 one occasion, soon after we had paid a visit to Malasang and were
in consequence well supplied with pots, we met the Baniu women
on the Government road about half-way between the two places,
and exchanged our pots for their taro stalks. Rates: a very large
pot for 10 *rabas* (1 *rabas* = 6 taros), a middle-sized pot for 5 *rabas*,

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a small one for 3 *rabas*. One of our party also produced a small trade hatchet, for which she got 10 *rabas* of taro.

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(iv) *Taro for kōbū*.

The people of Kurtatchi have not a great supply of areca-nut palms, from the sheath of which they make the trays or supports used in carrying burdens. They therefore trade for them with the Sēlō people, giving taro in exchange (Pl. 73). Meeting-place: the Government road about half-way between the two places. Rates: load for load, irrespective, apparently, of quantity. The *kōbū* were packed inside one another, so that a woman carried a bundle consisting of six or seven. A load of taro is as much as a woman can pack into a *kōbū* and carry on her back; the capacities of different women differ considerably. But no haggling seemed to occur.

(v) *Bread-fruit for sweet potatoes*.

The Tabut people have a good number of bread-fruit trees, and when the bread-fruit is ready they exchange for sweet potatoes which they do not grow in their gardens, with the people of Ruri. Meeting-place: the Government road—on the occasion on which I accompanied them, the Ruri women came almost as far as Tabut. Rates: load for load. Representative loads of bread-fruit were respectively 17, 21, and 35 in number; loads of sweet potatoes consist of as many as a woman can pack into her *kōbū*. There was no haggling as to whether two given loads were of equal value.

(vi) *Pots for paint*.

The Ruri women came to Tabut to buy pots, offering black paint (*ifina*) (see p. 417) in exchange. Rate: 1 medium-sized pot for 1 bamboo full of paint (the paint is packed in joints of bamboo about 2 inches in diameter and 2-2½ feet long). On another occasion the Kurtatchi women bought pots from Tabut at the same exchange. They said the paint came from Tiop and had been paid for with pipes which they had obtained from Buka.

(vii) *Taro for pots*.

Some women from Malasang came to Tarongen in several canoes, bringing a supply of pots for sale. The Kurtatchi women went to meet them with loads of taro. The pots were laid out on

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435 the beach and the taro piled up in heaps (Pl. 74). Each woman
 437 went round inspecting the various pots and chose the ones she
 438 wanted, she then indicated to the owner of the pots chosen what
 taro she was prepared to give for them. If the owner approved the
 transaction took place. There was no haggling.

(viii) *Buying pots at Malasang,*

On the occasion when I went with a party from Kurtatchi to buy pots at Malasang, we all paid in trade goods, loin-cloths, tobacco, pipes, &c., at the rate of three sticks of tobacco (worth about a shilling in the native reckoning) for a medium-sized pot, four or five sticks for a large one, two sticks for a very small one. A pipe was considered the equivalent of three sticks of tobacco; a loin-cloth of inferior quality the same, one of better quality being taken as equivalent to six sticks.

437 *Other exchanges.* The exchanges just described were more or
 438 less standard, and took place repeatedly. Others appear to be rather
 of the nature of isolated transactions, though doubtless they too
 are repeated as occasion requires. A few of those which came
 under my notice are here listed.

While I was staying at Tabut some men from Gogoiv in Buka came over in a *mon* trying to sell pipes, which are made on Buka where there is suitable clay. They wanted money—a shilling each—for them instead of goods, so they did not do any business!

On another occasion some men from the island of Pororan came to Ratsoa, on the mainland of Bougainville, some little way inland up a river, bringing women's hoods and sleeping-mats, neither of which are made by the Bougainville natives. This involved a canoe journey taking most of the day and including the somewhat difficult transit of Buka Passage. All the villages for some distance round sent envoys to make purchases, they paid in money, tobacco, and loin-cloths. I was not present on this occasion, and as no one went from Kurtatchi, I cannot give the rates.

A man from Pororan once visited the village of Kurtatchi bringing women's hoods, pipes, and fishing baskets of a kind not made at Kurtatchi. He exchanged at the following rates:

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1 hood = 1 bamboo of red paint (*oin*).1 pipe = 1 small package of *oin*, wrapped up in leaves.1 basket = 1 *kōbū*.

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Journeys of some length are not uncommon. Two men from Kurtatchi, and the wife of one of them, set out on a trip to Numanuma, on the east coast of Bougainville, in company with women from Ruri, in order to purchase supplies of paint. They took with them several strings of trade beads, some tobacco, and some shillings. They went in a *mon*, leaving soon after sunrise, intending to sleep at Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner. Leaving Tiop when the morning star Sowitoan had risen, they would reach Numanuma soon after sunrise. They expected the people of the mountains to meet them there with the paint; if they did not, they would go on a little farther to another village. They were to buy *oin*, *tsina*, *owan*, *itsu*, and *wiwi* (these are described on p. 416 f.). Sleeping at Tiop on the way back, they expected to be at Kurtatchi in the course of the following morning. They told me this before leaving, and did actually return to the village at the time scheduled. Rates: 1 bamboo of *oin* (the most valuable paint) = 3 sticks of tobacco (equal to about a shilling). The other paints were paid for at a somewhat cheaper rate, the quantities obtained for 3 sticks of tobacco being larger. 437
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Parties of men in a *mon* used to go from Lontis and Hanahan to the island of Nissan (see p. 381) to buy pigs, for which Nissan is famous. On these trips the pigs are sometimes paid for in ceremonial currency; one fathom of *imun* (see p. 448) will purchase a medium-sized pig. 435
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Some other rates of exchange which I obtained in course of inquiry are as follows: 435

A slit-gong may be purchased for 1 fathom of *imun*, 1 fathom of *beoan*, and 10 bamboos of red paint (*oin*).

In the olden days a good stone axe cost 10 bamboos of *oin*.

A *mon* for bonito fishing, with two planks, which the people of Petats were considering buying from Lontis, was to be paid for with one female pig, not very large; a number of women's packs, consisting of *kōbā* and wide strips of prepared banana fibre used both to increase the capacity of the *kōbā* and also to sling it from the shoulders; and some spears, the actual number had not been agreed upon. When I asked why they did not make a *mon* for themselves, they said they had not enough 'putty nut'. They admitted that they could have obtained supplies of this from Buka, but they preferred to buy the *mon* ready made. 435
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A chain of exchanges which came to my notice is interesting as 437
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437 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods.
 438 The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*), which was destined eventually to form part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price
 439 of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured
 465 labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into
 651 the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the Government head-tax of 10s. on each adult male. The goods generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths, trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of scent.

435 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or
 439 Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a *fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price of a pig.

CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground
 171 flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

224 all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so
[565] desires, the *tsunaun tsan* can claim a portion for himself, whether or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

231 Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

Other possessions.

231 Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.¹ A good hunting
422 dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They
435 are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment
436 as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they paid him 10s. in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut through which the dog could breathe.

422 Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them.
562 A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to another man and borrow one for her.

422 For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus, pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears, clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the shell on lumps of rough coral; *kōbō*, and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

[552] ¹ Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called *Fatō*, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*fatō tomet in*).